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something to bring back. No man will return from a hunting excursion empty handed to face the ridicule and anger of his wife; and as a consequence men are occasionally absent from their homes for two or three days, sleeping in the bush, until they have acquired some game, if nothing more than a turtle or a couple of birds' eggs, to bring back to the household. Under ordinary circumstances a man usually hunts alone with the help of a dog, although hunting parties are occasionally formed for the pursuit of drove animals, such as bush hog, or unwieldy beasts such as maipuri (bush cow). In fishing a man has his own private lines which he tends himself, but when a stream is poisoned, the cooperation of several men, and frequently of women and children, is enlisted.

The women of the household attend to the field products, digging the cassava and gathering the other edibles, as well as the cooking and preparation of all food. In these activities they are assisted by men too old to hunt and by young children. The cutting and preparation of the field, is, however, the man's task. And both the men and the women cooperate to do the planting.

Hunting. In the procuring of land animals, only three kinds of devices are used: the bow-and-arrow, the trap, and, rarely, the shot gun. Blow guns and spears are not in use at the present time, nor is there any memory of their former use by the Caribs. Such contrivances are said by the old men to have been used by the Akawai who formerly had settlements on the river and they are occasionally brought into the area as curiosities from distant Akawai settlements.[1]

Bows are made from four different kinds of wood and vary slightly according to the material. These four varieties are washiba (Carib, same; unidentified), letter wood (Carib, paidya; *Brosium aubletti*), bopa (Carib, same; unidentified), and yarriyarri (Carib, same, *Anaxagorea* sp.). The washiba bow in cross section is a fat oval; it is somewhat flatter on the belly than on the back and the wood is almost black. The letter wood bow has the same general

[1] Alec, for instance, says that when he was young his uncle brought a blow pipe home after he had made a trip to the head of the Cuyuni. There he had bought the weapon from the Akawais. It was made in one piece from a palm stem with the pith removed. His uncle gave him instructions concerning it. If you hit the quarry and it runs away, the poison is spoilt and the blow pipe must be thrown away. "This is because the game runs away with the essence of the poison" robbing the poison on your unused darts of its power and the weapon of its efficacy. To be successful you must try to hit the game two or three times and cut out the parts around the wounds.

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which the crops are planted in the ashes among the stumps and charred logs (Plate 5, *b*). The field is usually ready to burn about three weeks after the start of the dry season and is allowed to burn for about a week. In the planting women assist the men. Two implements are used, the hoe (sambá) of iron, which is obtained in trade, and the digging stick, which is merely a long pole three to four inches in diameter and five to eight feet long with a sharpened end. The latter implement is held in both hands and driven repeatedly into the ground to make a hole in which to plant such things as plantain. The hoe is used for loosening the ground preparatory to planting cassava shoots, maize, and similar crops. Cassava of the "bitter" or "poisonous" variety (*Manihot utilissima*) is the staple vegetable product of the Caribs. It is propagated by inserting young sticks cut from mature cassava plants into the ground at an angle. Each stick must have several shoots or buds and must show milk when it is cut. Cassava growing in the field is known as mainyá; the root of the cassava is called kiédi; and baked cassava bread ready to eat is arépa. After planting, the young cassava is weeded for a few weeks, following which it requires no further care until the roots are ready to be dug, which usually is the case after about nine months. The weeding is done by women and children. Cassava is a perennial which will produce a second crop without further attention. The third crop is usually poor because of exhaustion of the soil.

The roots are pulled up or are dug with hoes by the women, who usually go to the field every two or three days to replenish their supplies. They are placed in walishas (a type of carrying basket) and brought back to the house, where they are first washed free of earth with water brought from the creek in a calabash or pot. Then they are peeled or scraped to remove the bark-like skin (Plate 6, *a*). This process is called ipityali (I scrape cassava). The white peeled roots are then washed again (Plate 7, *a*) and grated (Plate 6, *b*). The graters now used are made of tin perforated with a pattern of concentric circles of small holes punched with a nail (Plate 7, *b*). The obverse surface of the perforated tin is rough and is bent over a log into a convex shape much like a larger edition of the tin nutmeg grater which is used in American kitchens. The graters average about eighteen by eight inches, and when in use are fitted onto the convex surface of a

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cassava cakes. The baked starch is called sipipya keipyo or mimyi. The preparation of cassiri and paiwari is described in the section on stimulants.

Plantains (parurune) of two varieties are grown in the fields. The aratan is comparatively small and is distinguished by the fact that the trunk of the tree is black. The taposa has a long thick fruit and a gray trunk. In planting, suckers are taken from the root, put in a hole made with the digging stick, and covered with earth; sometimes wood ashes are put in the bottom of the hole beforehand. The tree bears fruit about ten months later. [462] Both men and women cooperate in the planting, although only men pick the fruit which is detached from the tree in large bunches like bananas. The fruit may be eaten raw when it is ripe, that is, when the outer skin is yellow. Both ripe and green plantains are boiled. Green roasted plantain is a great delicacy; the skin is removed and the fruit placed in the ashes of the fire; when finished it is split and spread with grease or gravy and eaten with the hands. Finally, the green plantain may be grated raw and baked into a thin cake on the cassava pan. A plantain leaf is laid on the pan before the moist mash is spread for baking. The leaf is also in constant use as wrapping material, to wrap cassava cakes, to cover loads in walishas (carrying baskets), and for all purposes in which wrapping material is required.

Bananas (paruru) are planted in the same way as plantains and bear in about the same length of time (ten months). Ten varieties are distinguished: the small red banana is called maripyemyu and bears early; the large yellow type is called idinyuku; the largest reddish banana (kyasakore), bears earliest of all the varieties, is black when ripe, and is used mostly for roasting; the large yellow variety is called wepyunsokai and ripens in the middle of the season; the small sour reddish banana, called "sour fig" by the creoles, is called sari arya by the Caribs and is distinguished from the maripyemyu by its tart flavor; the greenish type (ipitakamapo), known as the "apple banana" and the "Cayenne banana" to the creoles, is usually boiled; the black banana is called mekorumyo; the stubby green type is called mutuku; and the medium red variety rejoices in the name of pomere or pomede.

Four varieties of pineapple (nana)[1] are grown: kashushipyopo,

[1] *Ananas sativa.*

The "cabbages," or fresh shoots, of several palms[1]
Akoyuru seed (*Astrocaryum tucuma*).
Arrow root (*Maranta indica, Miramoeissima*).

Such salt as is eaten nowadays is obtained in trade. Some of the older people, however, remember seeing leaves of certain trees burned and the ashes mixed with food as a condiment.

Cooking. The women of the household cook all food which is eaten at home, although men are able to prepare their own meals when unavoidably detained in the bush. The desire to have the women do the cooking, as well as the other pleasures of connubiality, accounts for the fact that a man going on a long journey will always attempt to have his wife accompany him.

Uncooked meat may be preserved by salting and by smoking over the fire.

Certain foods may be roasted in the ashes, others roasted on the end of a green stick, others baked on the pan, but the most universal way of preparing vegetables and meat is to make them into "pepper pot." In every Carib house a pot will be seen on the fire stones at almost any time of day. Meat and vegetables are cut into small pieces and put into the pot with water and a suitable amount of cashidipyo and set to boil. The cashidipyo lends a slightly acrid or peppery taste to the mess, somewhat like the flavor imparted by Worcestershire sauce.

No set times are observed for meals, although food is quite regularly taken upon arising and in the evening. Men and boys eat their fill from the pot alone, after which the females are allowed to stay their hunger with the remainder. One usually squats over the pot with a cake of cassava and a pot of peppers near by. One reaches into the pot with the bare hands and extracts a piece of meat or a vegetable which may be popped into the mouth or may be laid on a piece of cassava bread, which is bent over to make a sandwich. According to the dictates of personal taste a pepper may be included in the sandwich. If one desires the gravy in the bottom of the pot, one soaks a piece of cassava bread in it. When the pot is emptied more ingredients are added without cleaning out the pot. In this way there is always a supply of cooked food on hand, and the constant simmering keeps it from spoiling.

[1] ?*Oreodoxa, Areca oleracea, Euterpe oleracea.* See Schomburgk, 1922–23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. I, p. 33.

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364 quickly cleared away by insects. As a matter of fact, decaying organic matter about a settlement is not as much of a problem as might be expected, since any such rubbage is quickly disposed of by the swarms of ants which appear from nowhere as if for this very purpose.

514 Each household has its own latrine in the bush near the house. A tree is cut down, on which one squats. Personal cleaning is done with a stick. Men urinate in a standing position, women squatting. The functions of elimination are performed in strict privacy except at sprees when people are drunk.

For a general picture of a Carib village and the relative economic status of its inhabitants as shown by possessions kept in their houses, the reader is referred to our discussion of the village of Sawari.

CONTAINERS FOR LIQUIDS

415 In this chapter we shall devote ourself to a brief survey of the several types of vessels used by the Caribs which are capable of holding liquids. Basketry is described elsewhere.

317 **Pottery.**[1] Clay for the making of pottery is obtained in a variety of locations. The best clay is found, however, in the beds of creeks, near their upper reaches, where the force of the water has not been sufficient to overlay the material with deposits of stone and rubble.

323 [462] The making of pottery is woman's work, and the women seek the supplies of clay when it is needed. No special time of year or month is necessarily reserved for this purpose, although the dry season is most auspicious because at that time it is more convenient to go into the bush in search of supplies, and also the drying of the clay and baking of the pots can be more dextrously handled. Furthermore, during high water the beds of clay are frequently submerged. The clay is dug moist and brought back to the house in walishas. It is usually deposited on the rack or loft and allowed to dry, a process which may require a couple of weeks.

[412] When it is dry the clay is pounded into a powder with a wooden club. Apparently, natural ingredients are relied upon for temper-

[1] tumai'ini, pottery making; arinyo, pottery clay.

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BASKETRY AND PLAITING

285 462 ALL basketry and plaiting is done by the men, and it is perhaps in this department of material culture that the most aesthetically pleasing products of Carib handiwork are produced.

314 824 Nibi, a slender bush-rope, and mokru, a reed-like plant which grows in the jungle, provide the principal materials for basketry and plaiting. Nibi (*Carludovica*) is a vine about as large in diameter 285 as a lead pencil. For use in plaiting it is first split in half; then the convex outer surface is split off from each piece, producing a flat, ribbon-like strip, which is at the same time pliable and tough. This strip is then scraped with a knife. The preparation of the mokru (*Ischnosiphon* sp.) is not unlike that described by Roth.[1]

285 412 415 Articles made of basketry or plait-work are the following: fans, sifters for cassava meal (Plate 8, *a*), trays (Plate 22, *b*), cassava squeezers, (Plate 9, *a*) walishas or carrying baskets (Plate 22, *a*), wallets (Plate 9, *a*), pegalls or clothing containers, quakes or general utility openwork baskets. Fiber trusses are also sometimes attached to pots to facilitate their handling.

285 531 Fans are of the design and type of manufacture illustrated and described by Roth.[2] Sifters are usually of the type figured by Roth.[3] The simple diagonal design is produced by twilled weaving. Also a twilled design is produced giving the effect of a series of concentric squares with their corners pointing toward the middle of each side of the sifter. This type is known as the "turtle-back" design, the squares resembling the markings on the shell of the bush turtle. Other designs are produced by using artificially colored elements in the weaving, usually red and black. The entire surface of the sifter may be divided into four quarters by a cross of red or of black. Another design consists of a series of evenly spaced red dots over the entire surface, produced by the use of a red element. The weaving technique used in all cases is twill. The framework of the sifter is usually of yarriyarri. The basketry is attached to the frame as in Roth (Plate 21, *b*).[4]

415 285 531 Trays are used mainly as containers for raw cotton which is being spun. Occasionally cassava meal and other loose articles

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 137.
[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 296.
[3] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, Plate 71, A.
[4] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, Plate 70, B.

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527 The guests, attired in their best ornaments, face paint, and raiment, usually arrive shortly after dawn of the first day of the spree. Before it is light someone has started beating rhythms on the sambura, or drum, and playing tunes on a fiddle. During the morning the men and boys gather in one end of the house telling stories and amusing each other with conversation while they drink. They lie about in hammocks smoking, eating, talking, and playing with such musical instruments as may be present (Plate 23, *a* and *b*). In the afternoon the dance usually begins and lasts until late in the evening. The dancing takes place in the house or in an open space outside the house.

527 The general rules of etiquette at a drinking spree are as follows.
576 The aged people stay by themselves, it being beneath their dignity and capacity to indulge fully in the sport of the young. Women do not drink with men. The lady of the house, most often the wife of the house owner, serves the drink to the guests in person. Usually a large calabash, holding two or three quarts and hemispherical in shape, is filled from the kanu. In it are floating several small calabashes. The hostess fills one of these smaller calabashes and hands it to each guest. Specially honored guests are presented with the large calabash full of drink at each serving. One must always take the first drink from the calabash which is served to him, but if he does not desire the full contents, it is polite to pass it to someone else who will drink all but a small residue, which the
[832] original recipient must finish. Sharing one's drink with a woman is a way of showing that one regards her as attractive. It is impolite for anyone but the original recipient of the calabash to return it to the hostess, and he must return it empty.

534 No particular name is applied to the dance which accompanies a spree. (Wano, to dance.) Music is usually supplied by two men who beat samburas, or wooden drums with double heads of akuri skin, (Plates 23, *a*, and 24, *a*) and one or more men with fiddles. The latter may be of European design, bought from a shop, or may be made from bamboo stems or congo pumps. Both types
●[462] are strung with three cotton threads and played with a yarriyarri bow strung with kraua twine. Anyone of the male sex can play the drum or fiddle, although most settlements have certain
535 individuals who are especially proficient. Usually an old woman
527 and several little girls begin the dancing, which is always in line

In the same manner, there is no basis for the differentiation of individuals in the Carib population on any sustained basis. Instead, the utility of external as well as local resources has remained in the immediacy of their availability to the local Carib population.

Throughout the changes in the regional networks of exchange involving the Upper Barama River Carib population, some economic dimensions have remained unchanged. The nature of material property and its personal ownership are as Gillin describes them. A man owns his clothes, farm, house, hunting and fishing equipment and other tools, and the game he catches. A woman owns her clothes and tools for working on the farm and in the house. Nowadays, many commercial goods are among the property owned by men and women, and cash income has been used to obtain them. Although men's activities have changed to include employment and other market endeavors, women have remained in their domestic domain. Even though some Carib men have been separated from a subsistence relationship to the rain forest, they have not been separated from the household context which provides a male-female partnership for returning to and maintaining a subsistence in the bush. This continuity is apparent in the organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs to exploit the different resource situations.

175 342 (Gillin 1936:31-9). As a house became dilapidated, it would be used for cooking or storage purposes, and a new one built to support the hammocks of the various members of the household.

175 584 [582] Preparatory to a marriage, a young man was required to cut a field and build a house nearby and pass a hunting test given by the bride's family. This appears to have been a formality that finalized an agreeable relationship among all concerned (Gillin 1936:74-75).

175 591 [606] [851] At first, the young husband resided with his wife's family. During this time he cooperated actively with his wife's father and other male relatives still in the household. Expressive of the temporary nature of the extension of the family, the young man rendered his father-in-law deference, usually not talking to him directly but through his daughter. This period of matrilocal residence generally would end soon after the birth of a first child (Gillin 1936:97). The newly established household was then an autonomous unit.

175 476 571 621 [462] As for the cooperation among households, this principally involved men's activities, farm cutting, hunting, canoe building, house constructing, and the like. In these instances, cooperation is not necessary, but rather expedient. As a result, patterns of cooperation lacked permanence and explicitness. Friendships among men seem to have been the basis for recruiting work partners. Women cooperated as well, but their friendships had no consequences in social organization (Gillin 1936:136). [592] The adult men moved their households about freely to enter into associations with other men from households in the vicinity. In general, cooperation developed among "brothers," 175 476 593 605 [591] actual siblings and parallel cousins (Gillin 1936:97), and these kinsmen tended to settle near each other.

*177 476 the dependent partners are identifiable. This contrasts to the associational nature of the previous pattern of cooperation among the Carib men.

*177 175 462 The increased isolation of the family group resident in a clearing has affected the assignment of tasks according to sex. Gillin reports a discrete separation of tasks (1936:3,46,51,71). Men would hunt and clear fields, construct houses, canoes and cassiri kanus, and do all basketry and plaiting. Women would harvest cultigens, gather edibles from the forest, prepare all food, sew, tend children, and exclusively assist in childbirth while the men were not allowed in the clearing. Men and women would cooperate to plant fields and poison streams for fish. During 1970-71, men were observed in their own households engaged in all of those tasks which previously were allocated to women. For the most part, women's tasks are those which must be done on a daily basis. Men assisted with the activity when the females in the household were otherwise indisposed and there was [844] no wider circle of females to call upon. Men now commonly deliver their wife's children. Women, on the other hand, were not observed taking part in any of the men's activities.

*177 437 [436] Exchanges between people from households in different clearings are now conveyed in terms of immediate exchange. Barter has been used, but increasingly the exchange of labor, food, or craft items is conducted with money. Labor assistance, including help in clearing and planting fields, building houses and cassiri kanus, and processing cassiri, is paid for either in food or money. Manioc tubers, the prepared cassava cakes, turtles and other bush meat are

*177 464 465

*177 43